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joz ("Infierno de Amor," C. G. I, no. 274), who wrote at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, attributes the poem,—“No juzgueys por la color”—quoted above (C. G. I, no. 159), to Don Bernaldino de Velasco,¹² while the ‘Cancionero General’ assigns it to Cartagena. The verses: “Mi vida se desespere” (‘Cancionero General’ i, no. 132), he puts into the mouth of Don Aluar Perez, while the ‘Cancionero General’ ascribes them to Costana. These instances could be easily multiplied, and indeed in the MS. *Cancionero* of the British Museum (no. 10431) they are so numerous that it makes the question of authorship, so far, at least, as many of the shorter poems are concerned, a very uncertain matter; we know besides that many poems, for example, in the *Cancionero* of Baena, which appear under the names of various nobles and favorites, were written by Villasandino and Baena, while the sameness and entire want of originality which characterizes most of the lyrical poetry of these collections, together with the very slight frame upon which most of them are built, make it doubly difficult, in fact almost impossible, in most cases to decide the authorship of a poem.

From the evidence before us it is impossible to say who wrote the bulk of the poetry that passes under the name of Cartagena. Some, it has been shown, could not have been written by Don Alonso, while for a number of other poems, written towards the close of the fifteenth century, Don Pedro's pretensions to authorship are certainly questionable. We cannot deny to Don Alonso every claim to ‘Cartagena's’ poetry, in the face of the express evidence of Fernan Perez de Guzman, nor can the fact that the majority of Cartagena's verses are of an amatory nature, militate against the pretensions of the Bishop of Burgos. He may have written them early in life and disclaimed them or regretted writing them in after years, just as, we know, was the case with a celebrated Provençal poet, Folquet de Marseille, nearly three centuries before, who, when he became Bishop, considered his greatest sin to have

been the writing of those beautiful lyrics by which alone his memory has been preserved. That, on the other hand, many of these poems were written by Don Pedro, is proved by internal evidence, while his claims are further strengthened by the fact that the only christian name ever occurring in the *Cancioneros* is Pedro. This, together with the statement of “Gracia Dei,” that Pedro was still living at least as late as 1475, inclines the weight of the evidence in his favor, though it does not justify Gayangos in saying:

“lo que no admite género de duda es que las poesías del *Cancionero General* no son ni pueden ser del obispo D. Alonso, como ha supuesto equivocadamente el Sr. Rios, y dice el Sr. Ticknor.”

HUGO A. RENNERT.

University of Pennsylvania.

THE CHARACTER OF MARC IN MYTH AND LEGEND.

IN the transmission of tales and legends from generation to generation, it is always interesting to watch the changes and modifications in the *dramatis personae*, and in none, perhaps, do we get so good an opportunity to do this as in the Gallo-Breton legend of Tristan, woven round the luckless wife of Marc.

The birthplace of Marc in history and myth is hidden in Keltic antiquity. Francisque Michel¹ quotes two passages in which we get a passing allusion to a chieftain who may possibly have been the eponym of the story. The first of these passages is taken from the Cambrian Biography, page 233, where mention is made of a Welsh or Cornish chieftain March ab Meirchion, a captain who lived towards the end of the fifth century. He was one of the three great naval captains of Britain. The other reference is to the life of a certain Saint Paul de Leon in the ‘Acta Sanctorum’ (tom. ii, page 114, col. 1.), where we find the following notice:

“Rex quidam Marcus nomine, in vicino (scil. Cornubia vel Cambria) florebat eodem tempore, cujus imperii dominatus leges dabat quattuor gentibus, linguarum fame dissidentibus.”

¹² Don Bernaldino was the seventh Constable of Castile, and the second of the Velasco family. He became Constable in 1492, and died in 1512. V. Salazar de Mendoza, ‘Dignidades,’ p. 324.

¹ Francisque Michel, ‘The Poetical Romances of Tristan,’ 3 vols. London: Pickering, 1835 to 1849, vol. 1, lii.

This Saint Paul de Leon lived towards the end of the fifth century.

Turning from the quasi-historical to the mythological side, we find more material to work upon. Keltic students² are agreed in connecting the word March with a form Marc or Morg, meaning a horse; and associating this with the "black steed," one of the familiar forms of the devil in Welsh mythology,³ we find Marc springing first into existence as a prince of Darkness, one of the forms of the Keltic Pluto-myth. March ab Meirchion he is called in the Welsh triads (Steed, the son of Steeding, we might call him), and the story of March and his "oreilles de cheval," which has been preserved in the romances, is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the older myth. One of the Welsh triads represents Arthur and his knights trying to carry off the swine of March.⁴ Now March was married to the Fair One, Essylt, and had as his companion a famous general called Drystan or Trystan. This general was also his nephew, and was enamoured of Essylt. Trystan sent one of March's swineherds with a message to Essylt and meanwhile undertook to guard them himself; during the swineherd's absence Arthur came along, attempting to take some of March's pigs, but not a single one could he get away from Drystan.

With reference to this story of the swineherd, it may not be inappropriate to quote a passage from an essay of Edward Tyrell Leith on the legend of Tristan (Bombay, 1868), comparing March with his congeners in other Aryan mythologies.

"Marc like Rudra, Arthur and Odin, the wild huntsman, is probably the Storm-god, as the flying cloud naturally suggested the idea of a horse scouring the gloomy sky. His swine, or boars, like the Vedic *Maruts*, are the raging winds that follow in his train, whose inactivity during the summer months would not improbably be figured forth by their being under the custody of the Sun-god Tristan."

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, the 'Historia Regum Britanniae,' which served as a

² Michel, 'Tristan,' vol. i, p. cxiv, and vol. ii, p. 171; also G. Paris, 'La littérature française au Moyen-âge,' Paris, 1890.

³ Rhys, 'Studies in the Arthurian Legend.' Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1891, pp. 69, 70.

⁴ Triads i, 30; ii, 56; iii, 101; quoted by Rhys, 'Studies,' p. 12.

storehouse and basis for so many of the mediæval chronicles and legends, we find no mention of Marc at all. Between 1150 and 1200, A. D., a large body of poetic literature sprang up around the legend of Tristan.⁵ Most of these poems are unfortunately lost, and others have been preserved to us only in a fragmentary state. One of the earliest poetic fragments we possess was composed by an Anglo-Norman *trouveur*, Bérout, and M. Gaston Paris gives the date of this composition as about 1150. Chrétien de Troyes also wrote a poem on this subject, which is unfortunately lost, and we can only fix the date of the work through the poet's mention of it in his other poems. We read in the opening lines of the Roman de Cligés as follows:

Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide,
Et les comandemanz Ovide,
Et l'art d'amors an romanz mist
Et le mors de l'espaule fist,
Del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde . . .

M. Gaston Paris fixes the date of this lost Tristan poem as about 1160, A. D. The poems of both Bérout and Chrétien de Troyes were in all probability drawn from current versions of the story and from oral tradition. To get, therefore, at the next step in the development of the character of Marc, we have to examine the early poetic fragments and also the translations of the story which were made into English, German and Norwegian within a very short space of time after the composition of Chrétien's poem. We now find Marc as a powerful King:

- A. In the French poem, as a King of Cornwall.

Rois Marc remest en Cornouaille.
.
Li rois a Cornouaille en pes.

Bérout, ll. 4225-7.

- B. In the English version, as a King of England.

And faren till Ingland
to lande;
Markes King thai fond.

Sir Tristrem, fyttē i, st. 5.

- C. In Gottfried von Strassburg's 'Tristan,' as a King of Cornwall and England.

⁵ Paris, 'Litt. fr. au moyen-âge,' p. 93.

Oftmals hat er hören sagen
 Wie höfisch, reich an ehre
 Der junge könig wäre,
 Mark vom lande Cornewal;
 Des Preis vernahm man überall:
 Cornewal und Engelland,
 Die dienten beide seiner hand.
 Zuletzt befahlen sie alle
 In Markes Schutz sich und das Land,
 Der hielt es mit so starker hand
 Nun in seiner macht beschlossen,
 Kein könig hat noch je genossen
 Ergebnern Dienst von seinem Reich.
 Die geschichte meldet uns zugleich
 Das in aller Länder kreis
 So weit gedungen war sein preis
 Kein fürst geehrter war denn er.6

Here we have a description of the King's character very different to that of the later versions, especially the prose romances, where Marc is invariably described with some opprobrious epithet.

Let us now examine a little more closely King Marc's character as it is portrayed in the early poems; and taking the longest French poetic fragment, commonly called the version of Bérout, we note:

1. Lines 233 to 277, Marc steadfastly refuses to believe that his wife is guilty of any infidelity towards him, or that his nephew Tristan could be capable of such baseness as to carry on an illicit intercourse with Queen Iseult. When the court dwarf openly warns the King of what is going on, and suggests that, to be convinced, the King shall conceal himself in a certain pine tree under whose shadow the lovers are wont to meet, Marc is reluctant to go,

li nains m'a trop deceü.
 En cest arbre me fist monter,

l. 230.

and when he hears the pretended quarrel between the lovers, his rage at the dwarf for having induced him to play the spy is unbounded, and he is full of righteous indignation and shame.

Ce poise moi, si m'en reprent:
 Molt est fous, qui croit tote gent
 Bien déuse ainz avoir prové
 De ces deus genz la verité
 Que je éuse fol espoir.

ll. 272-6.

6 'Tristan und Isolde von Gottfried von Strassburg' liber-
 setzt von Karl Simrock. Leipzig 1875, vol. i, p. 12.

2. The delightful picture of King Marc in the forest seeing Tristan and Iseult sleeping side by side with the naked sword between them (lines 1805 to 2041). This is perhaps one of the most charming scenes in the whole legend. Tristan and Iseult have been banished from the court and are hiding in a cave in the forest of Morrois. Marc on a hunting expedition discovers their retreat and "l'espee nue en la loge entre"; but to quote from the poem:

Quant il vit la nue espee
 Qui entre eus dens les desevoit,
 Vit les braies que Tristran out:
 "Dex! dist li rois, ce que puet estre!"

ll. 1965-8.

All suspicious thoughts are banished from his mind and with a graceful tenderness and simplicity he stoops and places his gauntlet so as to shade Iseult's beautiful face from a too powerful sunbeam.

Le rai qui sor Iseult décent
 Covre des ganz molt bonement.

ll. 2008-9.

How different this from "Li traitres felons" of the prose romance.

3. Marc is not here, as in the prose romances, a weak king overawed by his barons, but when *li trois felon* seek to persuade him to banish Tristan, he says:

. Dex vus destruié
 Qui si alez querant ma honte,

ll. 3047-8.

and again after the meeting of Arthur and Marc, King Marc returns to Cornwall.

Li rois a Cornovale en pès,
 tuit le criement et luin et près.

ll. 4227-8.

In these passages we see King Marc a dignified noble warrior, ashamed to harbor even the slightest suspicion against one so near him as his nephew Tristan. Like the ideal knight of the middle ages he is reverent even to superstition, and when Iseult swears her innocence by the saints before the proposed ordeal of fire beside the Thames, Marc is honestly ready to believe the sacred oath (lines 4160-4176 and 4120-4122).

Now, however, we notice the change that has come over the story in a hundred years.

Luce, the Chevalier du Gast, is supposed to have compiled a prose version late in the 13th or early in the 14th century, and when we next encounter King Marc in the prose romances we hardly recognize him. In the confused and rambling genealogy which the author gives in tracing the descent of Tristan from Bron and Joseph of Arimathia, we are told of a Felix,⁷ king of Cornwall, who had two sons and three daughters; and his son Marc reigned after him. Marc's sister Helybald married Meliadus, Roy du Leonois, and Tristan, as we know, was their child. Here the author, to show his erudition, gives us the etymology of Marc from Mars, Mardi, because he was born on a Tuesday—a decided change from Morg, the Black Horse-Devil!

From the outset here Marc engages in crime. He assassinates his brother Perneham because he ventures to reproach him for cowardice in not resisting the tribute levied by the Irish kings. Then he endeavors to kill Meliadus, his brother-in-law, because it was foretold him by the dwarf that the lineage of the house of Meliadus should surpass them all in glory and renown. In fact in the prose romances we have not less than seven persons assassinated, directly or indirectly, in the most treacherous and cruel manner by Marc. The epithets of Marc in the prose romances are *li plus mauvés et pire Roy du monde, le plus chetif aneanté vilein et failli, li desloiaz, li plus failli, li plus noiant, li plus coart, li felons traitres*. He is, however, a powerful man and a good huntsman. We read that when the court celebrated the anniversary of the victory of Tristan at the Isle of Saint Sanson, King Marc presided in his royal robes and had the air of a powerful and mighty king, "s'il n'eüst un pou sa chiere felonnoise." He presides at the tournaments and proposes to joust with Ivain aux Blanchescains, and the chronicle says he was "un des fors chevaliers del monde, et s'il eüst le cuer selonc quil avoit la force il feüst bien aprisiier de proece et de chevalerie." As a huntsman we read of him; "Le Roy a celui tens se delitoit plus en chace que nul home del monde: personne au monde

ne se livre a cet exercice avec plus d'ardeur que lui."

Marc is made a laughing stock by the knights of Arthur whenever they meet, and one of the most amusing incidents in the long and tedious folio is the scene where Marc wanders in a forest on his way to Arthur's court, and is accompanied by Sir Dinadan and befooled on every occasion by this jester. This is the same Sir Dinadan who wrote a lay recounting the cowardice and treachery of King Marc and taught it to Eliot (a curious harper, as he is called by Malory, book x, chap. xxxi), that he might sing it before the King.

This is called the *Lay Voir Disant*, and as it has never to my knowledge been edited before, it may be of interest to print it here in full. I have copied it from a fifteenth century MS. in my possession, which appears to belong to the same family as No. 756 Bibl. Nat. (see Löseth, 'Roman en prose de Tristan,' page 179.)⁸

Most of the prose romances make Tristan die at the hands of King Marc. Tristan is singing a lay and playing on the harp before Queen Iseult, when Marc in a fit of jealousy stabs him between the shoulder blades. Tristan dies of the wound, for the dagger was poisoned. Here, as if to bring out more forcibly than ever the weakness of Marc's character, the author makes him indulge in a fit of impotent remorse at the nephew's death-bed, when repentance is too late. In the same way MS. No. 103, Bibl. Nat., which follows the poetic versions in relating the story of Tristan's death through the hoisting of the black sail, makes King Marc give vent to most elaborate regrets at the death of his nephew and endeavor to atone for his shortcoming by building a splendid tomb for Tristan and Iseult.

The death of Marc is recorded in the 'Tavola Ritonda,' an Italian compendium of the Round Table stories. Here we read that in Marc's old age Arthur invaded Cornwall and captured King Marc. Launcelot and Morhaut shut him up in a high tower overlooking the tomb of Tristan, and there he dies within three years.

⁸ For the sake of convenience, the text of the *lay* is given at the end of this article.

⁷ For all the incidents referred to in the prose romances of Tristan I have used the admirable work of M. E. Löseth, 'Le Roman en prose de Tristan,' Paris, 1890.

Another French MS. in the National Library (No. 340, folio 205) gives a different version of his end. Here we read that in his old age King Marc made an invasion into Logres, destroyed Camaloth, and killed the Archbishop, but was himself slain by Paulart, a descendant of the house of King Ban.

To sum up, we find three distinct treatments of the character of King Marc.

In the earliest times, before the beginning of mediæval romance, we meet with a general and warrior playing an important part in early Celtic legends, March the captain and the master of the swineherds. These in their turn we may take to be the outcome of a still earlier myth, in which Marc, along with other names and persons in Aryan mythology, is a symbolization of the elements of nature. We next find Marc as king of Cornwall, a dignified and noble character, reverent to women and exhibiting all the best features of the mediæval knight as described by the early Anglo-Norman and French poets of the twelfth century. Lastly, we get in the prose romances of the fourteenth century a weak and feeble monarch, uxorious, cowardly and utterly undeserving of the slightest respect. To inquire into the cause of such a change would be beyond the scope of the present article. The whole question of the change in the ethical sentiments of society between the twelfth and the fourteenth century, especially with regard to the position of husband and wife, is exceedingly interesting, but would call for a psychological treatment deserving of a far more lengthy study than could be attempted here. Undoubtedly, however, the authors of the prose romances of Tristan felt that something must be done to account for the bold infidelity of Iseult, the heroine, and some excuse invented to make her open adultery less offensive to the reader. Hence the portrayal of King Marc, her husband, as a degraded and repulsive character, which finds its final development in the last quasi-original redaction of the story at the hands of Sir Thomas Malory.

APPENDIX.

THE LAY VOIR-DISANT.—The text of the MS. from which I have copied the lay is perfectly

legible and well written; for the few necessary emendations I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Henry A. Todd. On the whole this lay seems far more spirited and less affected in style than the generality of the lays scattered through the prose romance. The following extract from Lõseth ('Roman de Tristan,' page 176) will be of interest as showing why and how the poem was conceived. The italics represent quotations from the prose folio.

"Dinadan se tourmente pour trouver un moyen de punir Marc et se décide enfin à lui envoyer une lettre, non point au nom de Gueneviere, *mès d'autre part, tout autresint comme se ele n'en seüst riens* (des lettres envoyées par le roi): cette lettre sera si *asprement parlanz que pieca mès Marc n'en aura reçu de pareilles*. *Lors se commence a prendre garde comment il les pourra ordener et en quele maniere, se il les veult en rime fere ou en conte sanz rime ou en maniere de lay*. Car les autres qui a celui temps avoient trouvé meint lay avoient parlé et chanté de bonté et de courtoisie(e), pour ceque il savoient a courtois et a bons ceuls de qui il fesoient diz. Or, comme Dinadan sait que Marc est le roile plus chetif, le aneanté, le plus vilein et le plus failli du plus monde, il fera plaisir a tous, *se il fet lay de sa vergoingne et il conte sa mauvestié*. Ce sera le meilleur moyen de déshonorer Marc; car le lai sera connu partout, et Dinadan y dira à Marc *tout son afere*. Il se met donc à trouver son lai, et pour ce que il savoit que T. avoit fet le Lay mortel chascune couple de .IIII. lingnes semblables, si dist a soi meemes que il voudra fere cestui tout autresint, . . . et trouverra, se il onques puet, en cestui lay chant merveilleus, qui volentiers sera oïz et recorder en toutes courz (F^o 341).

LE LAY VOIR DISANT.

(Folio 72 v^o, col. 2.)

1. Tout me suy de dire teü,
Que je me suy aperceü
Que mon taire a a vos neü :
Porce est or mon lay manteü.
2. Du mauvais roy, du non sachant
Qui tous maulx voit a soy sachant,
Commens mon lay et fay mon chant ;
Bien lui doit Dieu estre tranchant.
3. Du plus mauvais qui soit en vie
M'est venu tallent et envie
Que je compt la mauvaie vie ;
Raison a celui fait m'envie.

4. Roy Marc, vilz dolent et chetifz,
Qui a tous biens faire es retifz,
Tu es come le grans mestis
Qui contre le lyon prent estrifz.
5. Maleüreux et malsené,
Pourquoy fuz tu si forsenné,
Qui du meilleur qu'on sache né
Mesdeïs, roy malassené?
6. Vilté de gent, fiens et ordure,
Deshonneur vergoingne et laidure,
Trop me merveill quant Dieux endure
Que ta vie si longtemps dure.
7. Honnis vergongneux ahontez,
Sur tous es en honte montez;
Entre rois ne fusses comptez,
A dieu et au mond fust bontez.
8. Ce que vives est grant pechiez,
Tout le mond en est entechiez;
En mustre est ton cueur fichiez;
Nuls ne vous croît, nen soit trichiez.
9. Roy Marc, tes euuvres ne cel'on,
Onc si mal roy ne vit nul hom
Comme tu es, ne si felon;
Viltés du monde t'appel'on.
10. Tu es cilz qui toujours empire,
Mauvais fus et encor es pire;
Tant soies tu du regne sire
.
11. Vois tousiours empirant et louche,
Deshonneur vergongne et reprouche;
De mauvais homme en toy se couche
Viltez, qui ens ou cueur te touche.
12. Failli du cueur, coart renois,
Tu as yeulx, mais goute n'en vois
Ta dolente, que ne pourvois;
De ton fait est chetifve voix.
13. Vilz homs dolent et ahonté,
De toy n'est nul bien racompté
.
.
14. Et puis que je voy que tu vais
Du tout empirant, ne ne fais
L'empirer tout a une feïs,
De ta honte suy bien confès.
15. De ta vergongne et de ta honte,
Qui toute deshonneur surmonte,

Fine mon lay, que rois et conte
Mettront encore en heault compte.

16. Et pource qu'alas mesdisant
De celui que tous vont prisant,
Ce vois je du tout desprisant.
Cy fine mon lay vray disant.

MS. Readings: Strophe iii, l. 3 Que je vous compt sa
mauvais vie—viii, 2 entechiez, l. 4 trichez—ix, 2 selon—xi,
2 Es vois tousiours & che—xii, 1 rgoiz—xiv, 1 vois, 2 faiz,
3 foiz, 4 confez.

JOHN EDWARD KERR, JR.

Columbia College.

ANEMONAE VERBORUM

LOOKING over that charming and unworthily neglected poem, "Christ's Victorie," it occurred to me to note down some ephemeral blossoms of words which deserved a longer date. Some seem to be Fletcher's own coinage, others are found, though rarely, in Spenser and his contemporaries.

- Enwaved.* "The waters . . . hoarsely enwaved were."
Infuneral. "As though her flesh did but infuneral Her buried ghost."
Infanted. "And yet but newly was He infanted."
Devowed. ". . . the armies angelique devow'd Their former rage."
Unflower. "That I may soone unflow'r your fragrant baskets."
Disadvantage (=cease advancing.) ". . . when they saw their Lord's bright cognizance Shine in His face, soone did they disadvantage."
Moduled. "Like pleasing anthems, moduled in time."
Eloigning (=driving away=Fr. *esloigner*.) ". . . the bird of sorrowe sat Eloigning joyfull day with her sad note." In Mr. Grosart's text it is "elonging"—perhaps rightly.
Aggrate. ". . . what so ever might aggrate the sense."
Depastured. ". . . Hibla, though his thyme depastured. Is fast againe with honie blossomed."